

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 201545 TOSEC 100117

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

FOR S/S TEAM

1. HERewith FULL TEXT RICHARD DUDMAN PAGE 9 BYLINER
SUNDAY AUGUST 24 WASHINGTON STAR HEADED "KISSINGER A MASTER
AT INFIGHTING."

2. HENRY A. KISSINGER IS QUOTED AS SAYING HE COULD NEVER
LET ANYONE ELSE TAKE OVER HIS WHITE HOUSE JOB, "BECAUSE THEN
HE'D DO TO ME WHAT I DID TO ROGERS."

3. BUT WHAT KISSINGER DID TO WILLIAM P. ROGERS, HIS
PREDECESSOR AS SECRETARY OF STATE, IS WATER OVER THE DAM,
AND, BESIDES, ROGERS IS NOT A MAN TO HOLD A GRUDGE.

4. WHAT KISSINGER IS SAID TO HAVE DONE TO ADM. ELMO R.
ZUMWALT, THE FORMER CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, IS SOMETHING
ELSE. IT TYPIFIES THE QUICK FOOTWORK AND SHARP RABBIT
PUNCHES THAT KISSINGER HAS SOMETIMES EMPLOYED AS HE
MANEUVERED TO PROMOTE HIS POLICIES AND HIS OWN PERSONAL
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POWER.

5. ONE RESULT, ASIDE FROM NOTABLE SUCCESSES AND A FEW
NOTABLE FAILURES, HAS BEEN A RISING TIDE OF CRITICISM BY

FORMER ASSOCIATES, FORMER SUBORDINATES AND A GOOD MANY PERSONS WHO STILL WORK WITH OR FOR HIM.

6. ZUMWALT'S FOUR-YEAR TERM AS CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS HAPPENED TO END IN JUNE 1974, JUST AS THEN-PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AND KISSINGER ARRIVED IN MOSCOW FOR THE SUMMIT MEETING AT WHICH THEY HOPED TO SCORE A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CONTROL OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS.

7. A DISPUTE HAD ARISEN OVER WHETHER A LOOPHOLE IN A SECRET PROVISION OF THE 1972 NUCLEAR ARMS AGREEMENT GAVE THE SOVIET UNION AN UNRECOGNIZED ADVANTAGE. ZUMWALT WAS AMONG THOSE WHO WERE CONCERNED OVER WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN 1972 AND FEARED THAT NIXON AND KISSINGER WERE ABOUT TO MAKE NEW CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD FREEZE THE UNITED STATES INTO A POSITION OF NUCLEAR INFERIORITY.

8. THE NAVY'S CHANGE OF COMMAND FOR ITS TOP UNIFORMED POSITION WAS ON SATURDAY, JUNE 29. THE NEXT DAY THE FOUR-STAR ADMIRAL RETIRED. ON THAT DAY, THE FIRST OCCASION ON WHICH HE WOULD FEEL FREE TO SPEAK HIS MIND, HE WAS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR ON THE TELEVISION SHOW "MEET THE PRESS."

9. BEFORE THE PROGRAM BEGAN, HOWEVER, ZUMWALT HAS CONFIDED TO A FEW ACQUAINTANCES, HE RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM KISSINGER, THROUGH KISSINGER'S DEPUTY, GEN. ALEXANDER M. HAIG JR.

10. THE MESSAGE, ACCORDING TO THESE SOURCES, WAS THAT IF ZUMWALT DISCUSSED THE NUCLEAR TALKS HE WOULD BE SUBJECT TO COURT MARTIAL. EVEN THOUGH RETIRED, AN OFFICER CAN BE COURT MARTIALED AND LOSE HIS PENSION.

11. ON THE PROGRAM, ZUMWALT WAS ASKED WHETHER HE HOPED NIXON AND KISSINGER WOULD COME BACK WITH A NEW NUCLEAR UNCLASSIFIED

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AGREEMENT.

12. "NO COMMENT," HE SAID.

13. "IS THERE A DIRECTIVE TO THAT EFFECT, ADMIRAL, THAT NO MILITARY MEN WILL DISCUSS STRATEGIC ARMS?" HE WAS ASKED.

14. "THERE IS," HE REPLIED.

15. ZUMWALT DECLINES TO DISCUSS THE INCIDENT JUST YET. HIS FRIENDS SAY HE IS SAVING IT FOR A BOOK HE IS COMPLETING FOR PUBLICATION NEXT JANUARY. THE TITLE IS "ON WATCH." AN ASSOCIATE SAYS A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF IT WILL DEAL WITH

KISSINGER.

16. ZUMWALT GIVES THE IMPRESSION IT WILL CONTAIN
POLITICAL DYNAMITE.

17. KISSINGER'S POSITION IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE THAT NO SUCH
THREAT OF COURT MARTIAL WAS MADE BY HIMSELF, BY HAIG OR BY
ANYONE ELSE AND THAT THE ENTIRE STORY IS A FABRICATION.

18. IN NEWSPAPER COLUMNS AND IN SPEECHES, ZUMWALT IS
ATTACKING KISSINGER'S POLICIES, INCLUDING HIS RECORD ON
NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL FOR
A \$350 MILLION SALE OF HAWK ANTIAIRCRAFT MISSILES TO
JORDAN. ZUMWALT CONTENDED THE 14 HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES
WOULD ENABLE JORDAN TO JOIN IN ANY NEW ARAB ATTACK ON
ISRAEL.

19. ANOTHER ZUMWALT-KISSINGER DIFFERENCE IS OVER ZUMWALT'S
RECENT INTERVIEW WITH THE WASHINGTON PST, IN WHICH THE
ADMIRAL SAID THE SOVIET NAVY HAD PROGRESSED SO FAR THAT IF
THE UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCES DEPLOYED DURING THE YOM
KIPPUR WAR OF 1973 HAD BATTLED THE SOVIET NAVY IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN, "THE ODDS ARE VERY HIGH THAT THEY WOULD
HAVE WON AND WE WOULD HAVE LOST."

20. KISSINGER IS UNDERSTOOD TO CONSIDER SUCH TALK
IRRESPONSIBLE AND DAMAGING TO THE CREDIBILITY OF U.S. ARMS
AND TO DENY THAT ZUMWALT EVER SAID AT THE TIME THAT THE
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UNITED STATES FORCES WERE IN DANGER OF DEFEAT.

21. "IF HE SAYS THAT, HE'S NOT SPEAKING THE TRUTH,"
ZUMWALT TOLD A REPORTER. "HE KNOWS THAT I MADE THOSE
STATEMENTS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON TWO
SEPARATE OCCASIONS BECAUSE HE HEARD ME SAY THEM. HE
KNOWS I TESTIFIED TO THAT EFFECT BEFORE A CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE, BECAUSE MY TESTIMONY WAS REPORTED TO HIM."

22. AS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP OF KISSINGER AND ROGERS,
KISSINGER IS UNDERSTOOD TO DENY THAT HE EVER SAID HE
COULD NOT LET ANYONE ELSE TAKE THE WHITE HOUSE JOB
"BECAUSE THEN HE'D DO TO ME WHAT I DID TO ROGERS."

23. THE REMARK HAS BEEN QUOTED OFTEN AND SEEMS TO MANY
TO HAVE AN AUTHENTIC KISSINGER FLAVOR, A COMBINATION OF
CLEVERNESS, HUMOR AND CANDOR. RAY S. CLINE, A FORMER
INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL WHO NOW IS AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY'S
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, SAYS
KISSINGER ONCE MADE THE REMARK TO HIM IN ONE OF THEIR
WEEKLY LUNCHES.

24. STARTING EARLY IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, ONE OF THE WASHINGTON SIGHTS WAS KISSINGER GUNNING FOR ROGERS. NIXON'S LOYAL OLD FRIEND, AS SECRETARY OF STATE, WAS NO MATCH FOR THE ADROIT KISSINGER IN THE KEY WHITE HOUSE SPOT AS ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

25. KISSINGER SOON BUILT UP A BIG STAFF, WITH ITS OWN REGIONAL DESKS THAT COULD BYPASS THEIR OPPOSITE NUMBERS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

26. IN THE FIRST NIXON TERM, ROGERS WAS THE BUTT OF A NEAT BIT OF ONEUPMANSHIP ON THE TRIP TO CHINA. NIXON HAD BEEN TAKING KISSINGER TO MOST OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS, INCLUDING THE MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG, LEAVING ROGERS TO CONFER PRIVATELY AND MOSTLY OFF-CAMERA.

27. WHEN THE DAY ARRIVED FOR A VISIT TO THE GREAT WALL, HOWEVER, PRESS SECRETARY RONALD L. ZIEGLER REPORTED THAT ROGERS WOULD ACCOMPANY NIXON AND PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON UNCLASSIFIED

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WHAT PROMISED TO BE THE MOST SPECTACULAR EVENT OF THE TRIP.

28. "ISN'T KISSINGER GOING?" ZIEGLER WAS ASKED.

29. "DR. KISSINGER MUST REMAIN IN PEKING TODAY," ZIEGLER SAID. "HE HAS SOME IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS TO WORK ON."

30. THAT MEANT THAT KISSINGER, NOT ROGERS, WAS DOING THE DELICATE JOB OF NEGOTIATING THE TEXT OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

31. "ANYHOW, DR. KISSINGER SAW THE GREAT WALL THE LAST TIME HE VISITED CHINA," ZIEGLER ADDED.

32. A RESPECTED FORMER SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE DEPARTMENT, WHO WATCHED THE KISSINGER-ROGERS RELATIONSHIP CLOSELY, SAYS ROGERS MAY WELL HAVE TAKEN THE POST KNOWING THAT HE WOULD BE A FIGUREHEAD AND THAT NIXON, WITH KISSINGER'S ASSISTANCE, INTENDED TO BE HIS OWN SECRETARY OF STATE. NIXON HINTED PUBLICLY, MOREOVER, THAT HE EVENTUALLY MIGHT NOMINATE ROGERS TO THE SUPREME COURT.

33. "ALL THE SAME, THE WAY THE THING WAS CARRIED OUT WAS MORE HUMILIATING TO ROGERS THAN IT NEEDED TO BE," SAID THE RETIRED OFFICIAL.

34. KISSINGER, HIMSELF, WAS SUBJECTED TO A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF HUMILIATION AT THE HANDS OF NIXON AND HIS TEAM. A

FORMER AIDE RECALLS NIXON'S CONTRASTING KISSINGER WITH HAIG AT A WHITE HOUSE CEREMONY. AS THE AIDE REMEMBERS IT,

NIXON SAID, "HENRY'S OFTEN UP IN GEORGETOWN AT ONE OF THOSE FANCY PARTIES, BUT HAIG'S HERE DOING THE WORK."

35. IN THE FIRST NIXON YEARS, A FREQUENT ORDER TO THE TELEVISION CREWS WHEN KISSINGER WAS GIVING A BRIEFING WAS "FILM BUT NO AUDIO." REPORTERS HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT NIXON'S INNER CIRCLE BELIEVED KISSINGER'S THICK GERMAN ACCENT WOULD CREATE A POOR IMAGE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION.

36. NIXON HELD UP NAMING KISSINGER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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SEVEN MONTHS INTO HIS SECOND TERM, EVIDENTLY FOR FEAR ROGERS' RESIGNATION WOULD MAKE IT LOOK AS IF THE ADMINISTRATION WAS COMING APART UNDER PRESSURE OF THE WATERGATE SCANDALS. ONE OF THE WHITE HOUSE TAPES, RECORDED IN APRIL 1973, HAS NIXON TELLING HIS AIDES, "NOW THE HELL WITH HENRY ON THIS. . . . YOU JUST GOTTA SAY THAT, 'HENRY, THERE ARE BIGGER THINGS HERE.'"

37. FORMER MEMBERS OF KISSINGER'S NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF TELL MANY STORIES OF HOW HE MANEUVERED TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POWER. ONE OF THESE PERSONS SAYS HE WATCHED KISSINGER WORK WITH ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, THEN AN UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, TO UNDERCUT ROGERS AND WITH DAVID PACKARD, A DEPUTY DEFENSE SECRETARY AT THE TIME, TO UNDERCUT MELVIN R. LAIRD, THE SECRETARY.

38. "WHEN RICHARDSON WENT TO DEFENSE, HE COULDN'T HAVE BEEN IN THE PENTAGON 30 DAYS BEFORE KISSINGER STARTED WORKING ON CLEMENTS TO KEEP RICHARDSON UNDER CONTROL," HE SAID, REFERRING TO DEPUTY SECRETARY WILLIAM P. CLEMENTS JR.

39. THE EPISODE OF THE WIRETAPS ON 13 GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND FOUR NEWSMEN IS SEEN IN PART BY SOME, DESPITE KISSINGER'S DENIALS, AS PART OF A CONSTANT EFFORT TO MAKE HIMSELF THE CENTER OF LINES OF POWER AND INFORMATION. AS EVIDENCE, FORMER WHITE HOUSE AND PENTAGON OFFICIALS FREQUENTLY POINT TO THE FACT THAT TWO OF THE TAPS WERE ON THE HOME TELEPHONES OF LT. GEN. ROBERT E. PURSLEY AND RICHARD F. PEDERSEN.

40. PURSLEY WAS SENIOR MILITARY ADVISER TO LAIRD, AND PEDERSEN WAS A SENIOR ADVISER TO RICHARDSON. BOTH SECRETARIES SPOKE FREQUENTLY BY TELEPHONE WITH THEIR ADVISERS.

41. THE RESOLUTION OF THE WIRETAP EPISODE--KISSINGER'S CHOKED-VOICED THREAT AT A SALZBURG PRESS CONFERENCE TO RESIGN IF HE WERE NOT EXONERATED--IS SEEN BY SOME CLOSE KISSINGER-WATCHERS AS A CLEVER PIECE OF SHOWMANSHIP AND PRESSURE.

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42. "THAT THREAT TO RESIGN WAS AIMED AT AN AUDIENCE OF ONE--NIXON," SAYS A FORMER KISSINGER AIDE. "HENRY WAS SAYING TO NIXON, IN EFFECT: I'M TAKING A LOT OF GAFF, AND I'M RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL YOUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ACHIEVEMENTS. YOU'D BETTER BACK ME UP."

43. NIXON AT FIRST LET KISSINGER'S DENIAL STAND BY ITSELF. LATER HE SAID HE HAD FULL FAITH IN THE SECRETARY'S ACCOUNT OF THE MATTER AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT HIS RESIGNATION. WITHIN A MONTH, THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCED THAT NIXON HAD WRITTEN A LETTER TO CHAIRMAN J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TAKING FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WIRETAPS.(END TEXT) MAW

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